1: Karsten--40-41 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
151 (1928-29)

"It is especially on journeys on the river that one has an opportunity to watch that wonderful faculty of observation which is so strongly developed in the savage Indian as in man in his natural state in general. His eyes and ears are always alert; sometimes he watches the river itself, sometimes the leafy heads of the trees, sometimes his keen eyes penetrate [41] the thickets of the forest where he is able to detect forms of life which wholly evade the observation of civilized man. The least noise instantly arouses his attention and as a rule he is able to decide at once from what it proceeds."

1: Karsten--490 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros have a natural esthetic sense, a fact of which everybody who sees an ethnographic collection from these Indians can convince himself. Their clay vessels attract attention through the almost classical harmony of the lines, and similarly the way in which they combine colours in their feather ornaments, etc., reveals a natural sense of colour."

1: Karsten--501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151, 775, 825 (1928-29)

"The Indian is a born romanticist, but the nature symbolism characteristic of the romantic view has for him a much more real import than for a civilized poet. All nature, not only animals, but also trees and plants, nay, even inanimate matter, reflect in his mind human life, human thoughts and feelings, not merely analogically, however, but simply because human souls are believed to inhabit these natural objects or to have temporarily taken up their abode in them. Very frequently the spirits of special ancestors or relatives, known by name, are recognized in this or that rock or hill, in this or that lake or spring, in definite quadrupeds and birds. Intimately connected with this view is the 'sacredness' ascribed to domestic animals. I have seen Indian women lament over dead dogs quite as if they had been beloved relatives, and neither these nor the animals and birds of the wood which are commonly tamed by the Indians are ever killed, however old and decrepit they may become. In the same sense, that is, as the seats of human souls, the cultivated edible plants are held sacred and, as we have seen, are addressed in prayers and incantations just as if they had personality. In one word, the idea that all nature is animate, which has inspired even philosophic thinkers among civilized peoples, thoroughly dominates the primitive religious philosophy of the Indians. We already know this primitive philosophy from the chapters on religion, but it is interesting to note that it also underlies their primitive lyric poetry, which in fact could not be understood without taking it into consideration."

1: Karsten--502
116, 533, 177, 151

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The Indians are extremely fond of song and music and it is easy to understand that in this sphere they have borrowed much from the whites. Thus among the Chaco Indians I found tunes which were evidently borrowed. Among the Jibaros, on the other hand, foreign influence has in this respect also been insignificant, owing naturally to the conservative character of the whole Jibaro culture. As far as I can see, all of their melodies noted down by me in this work are genuinely Indian."

3: Simson--390-391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro -1
116, 562, 151

"Amongst all Indians 'Women's Rights' are at a very low stage of advancement; but amongst the Canelos probably more so than others. As with many tribes, the young male grows up very independent; and as soon as he can run about, rapidly acquires all the habits and vices of his elders. His day is chiefly spent in lolling round about the village, or further in the woods, with his blow gun, which he learns to use from childhood to the destruction of all the small birds. He also learns to fish and follow game, and soon becomes an adept in woodcraft, recognising at a glance the slightest trace of a track of man or animal, the nature of the thicket before him and the trees above him; and,when still a boy, every tree and spot for miles around his home is familiar to him. Besides this, he acquires that knowledge, almost instinctive in the Indian, of locality and direction, so difficult to understand, but which undoubtedly is instilled into the mind by the almost unconscious observation primarily of the position of the heavenly bodies, the direction of prevailing winds as frequently illustrated in the [391] growth of mosses and lichens, and the bend of trees, the general currents of the smallest streams, and the closest appreciation of many minor sources of enlightenment which would escape the notice of any but the most practised woodsman. It is truly marvellous to witness the knowledge an Indian displays (especially the Záparos) in detecting the presence of animals and tracking them, without even following on their trail half the time, when the unsophisticated can neither see nor hear anything to indicate that game has been or actually is near at hand. For an Indian, the slightest sound, rustle, or a glimpse of the

tip of a feather indicates to him at once all the particulars and species of a bird that may be hidden in the dense wood at the top of a tree through the heavy foliage of which it seems impossible to discern anything."

12: Rivet--602 -603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151

Other qualities make the Jíbaros marvelous men in the woods. All the travelers have pointed out the development of their sense of direction (1), so remarkable that they have been tempted to see in it a true instinct. In reality, this astonishing faculty rests on the observation of many details that escape the stranger, perhaps on the observation of the heavens; but above all it is the direction of the dominant winds, the location of mosses and lichens on bark, the curvature of trees, and the direction of stream currents which furnish the Indian the necessary elements for guiding himself through the vast forests with all certainty. Sight and hearing are developed in a remarkable manner. The ear of the savage permits him to interpret the least noise, his eye notices apparently insignificant details. The sense of smell is equally acute. However, it appears that the Zaparos excel the Jíbaros on this point; in fact they are capable of finding an [603] animal without constantly following his trail; and the missionaries often had occasion to make use of this unusual gift in order to find again those of their neophytes who, loving liberty more than theology, fled from the Mission settlement (2).

---

1. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 345.
2. Simson, op. cit., page 390.

12: Rivet--603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151, 224

Perfect knowledge of the forest and its inhabitants, great power of observation, an inexhaustible patience, an unheard of endurance, make the Jíbaro a hunter without peer. Hunting the tayo (Nyctidromus), the femurs of which serve to make the ornament which I described under the name tayucunchi, is one of the biggest occupations. This very mistrustful bird lives in numerous bands and sleeps in caves in rock cliffs. When the Indian discovered one of these refuges, he goes late at night and closes the opening and smokes out the poor creatures or captures them all simply by hand.

20: Dyott--161
116, 224, 151

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"Once we were well clear of the house, the pace was slackened and we moved more cautiously, stopping every once in a while to listen to some forest sound that suggested the presence of game. From the moment we left, not a word had been uttered. Indians seldom talk when on the move unless they are drunk or returning from a successful chase. I have often marvelled at their ability to keep silent and pass through the densest brush without snapping a twig. The average white man with his chatter and awkward movements, disturbs the game and advertises his approach more surely than any elephant in its passage through a bamboo forest."

20: Dyott--161-162 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 224, 151

"An Indian whose hunting propensities have been aroused is a magnificent sight. To see the same man stretched out on his rack at home, you would say he was a monument of sluggish lethargy, but in the forest--what a difference! The slightest sound made by animal or bird electrifies him into action. With muscles taut, he will creep off silently as a ghost, leap on to a fallen tree, run along its slippery trunk with the agility of a panther, and vanish. For some minutes you will watch the place where he disappeared, wondering what has happened to [162] him, anxiety taking the place of wonder, and then a grunt from behind startles you out of your senses. You swing round and there stands your companion unconcernedly holding in his hand a dead tucan or some other evidence of his skill as a hunter."

20: Dyott-162
116, 151, 224

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"Kuashu's attention would often be arrested by some trivial sound. He would stop instantaneously, and the moment he did so everyone else followed suit. A few grimaces would be exchanged between the men, all of which had some peculiar significance which they understood, and then on again we would go.

We had been wandering about the forest for over an hour when Himbikti, in the rear, gave a low whistle, imitating the call of a paujil. It was a recognized signal, for immediately everyone became rigid. Kuashu turned his head slowly to inquire what was happening. Himbikti pointed with his chin, in the direction of some tree-tops. The movement of an arm might be seen, and is seldom employed when hunting. From the branches of a big tree, not far away, came a faint chirping. The men looked at each other and grinned. At first, it was hard to distinguish the sound from the other jungle noises, but soon even my poorly trained ears recognized the call of Humboldt's woolly monkey."

20: Dyott-166-167 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 521

"Our conversation with the stranger disclosed the fact that he was called Napi, and that he was on speaking terms with Kuashu's family. He lived several days to the south on the Paute river, and had taken an opportunity of travelling with two other men who were on their way to visit friends living not far off. Before all this information had been divulged, Napi had joined our group, and we were all making tracks for home.

On the way back, we climbed up a steep, muddy bank. [167] Half-way up the slippery slope, Kuashu stopped, his eyes on the ground, examining some footsteps which had been plainly impressed in the clay-like soil. They were those of Napi's travelling companions.

'Why are your friends carrying such heavy loads?' he asked. 'And the young woman with you, is she your wife?' Napi shook his head.

'No, the woman belongs to one of the other men.' And he went on to explain that his companions had brought over two loads of salt which they had promised their friends some months back.

Kuashu seemed to be a past-master at interpreting human foot-prints. To him they were like an open book. He explained in reply to our inquiries that the habit women had of carrying bundles from early childhood caused their feet to turn in, the angle generally becoming more pronounced the older the woman became. Men always turned their feet outwards and the heel is much larger in proportion. Kuashu was quick to note that the toes of the two men were dug deeply into the soft ground, indicating that they were carrying heavy loads and were obliged to get a good foothold at every step."

20: Dyott--169-170
116, 151, 224, 868

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"As the weather kept fine, another excursion to the forest was planned. Kuashu, Himbikti and the small boy Katani, made up the party. Mihanda and We-suma left on some secret mission, the import of which we were to learn later, while Napi went off by himself to pay a few calls on his friends.

Our ramble through the jungle proved particularly interesting as it threw considerable light on the way children are brought up and the kind of rough education they are put through by their elders. Katani seemed quite a favourite with his grandfather, and the old man never lost an opportunity of instructing him in the use of his eyes or help develop his powers of simple deduction. [170]

We are all aware how easily some people get dizzy and lose their sense of the horizontal, but we do not realize how civilization has blurred our sense of direction. You will, however, soon find out if ever you happen to be dropped down in some virgin forest in the heart of nowhere. You will walk in circles, regardless of all nature's sign-posts which she displays for your benefit. An Indian teaches his sons to note the direction of streams, the inclination of the ground, the length of the shadows--anything, in fact, which makes him use his eyes and put two and two together so that they make four and not sixes or sevens."

20: Dyott--170-171
116, 151, 224, 868

(no date) 1926

Jivaro-1

"Barely fifteen minutes after our start, some tapir's tracks excited Kuashu's curiosity. They were almost invisible to me, except when we followed them out into the open across a small sand-bar near the river. After what seemed like a cursory examination, Kuashu had an interesting story to tell. He pointed out to Katani how the tracks started wandering hither and thither till at a certain spot they took a straight line for the river's margin, at which point their character changed. From this it was deduced that the animal had been disturbed while feeding , and in all probability, frightened to such a degree that he had charged through the underbrush in a hurry. Himbikti's observant eye noticed a few bloodstains on the bushes, and where small branches had been broken off he pointed out a few hairs adhering to their jagged extremities.

The whole story in English was plain enough. The tapir had been walking quietly through the woods when a jaguar had pounced upon his back. Unable to rid himself of his assailant, the tapir had wisely bolted for the river, charging through the thicket hoping to scrape his adversary off his back by so doing. The jaguar was not going to forsake his prey so easily and held on tenaciously until the wily tapir had plunged into the river and then, of course, he had to let go, or drown, because his victim could remain [171] under water much longer than he could. Farther down the stream, we encountered the tracks of the disappointed jaguar, where he had swum ashore and taken himself off to the forest.

All the points of the lesson having been duly expounded, we sat down on the bank of the Upano in the shade to stretch our limbs. Some years previously, Kuashu must have had an encounter with a three-toed sloth near this very spot, for he began telling Katani of the event, pointing aloft to the sprawling limbs of a tall tree, and telling how he had ascended into the topmost branches and there slain the animal with his spear. This curious denizen of the forest called U-yushi by the Indians, will hang upside-down for hours at a time from the roof of the jungle, looking like a huge parasitic plant rooted to the spot. Kuashu told Katani that many years ago this animal was a man, a very old man called U-nupi, who belonged to an enemy tribe. He was married, of course, and his wife's name was U-nuchi, and he had a brother called Yungra. U-nupi. was such a lazy fellow that he would not even take the trouble to build a house, but lived up in the trees instead. In this secure position, he slept so much and hunted so seldom that in the end his children turned into animals."

25: Vigna --43 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 151, 533

The Jíbaro is very seldom out of tune in his songs, for he has a very keen ear. He uses a reed flute, and through a simple melody with an inflection of sadness he expresses his sentiments. Many times, sweethearts communicate their love by means of these melodies.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

changes, the investigator normally attempted to compare the views of a number of persons regarding modifications in each type of cultural activity. Accordingly, a trend is reported here only if it was substantiated independently by at least several reliable informants. To heighten the accuracy of such information, the trends reported here are further restricted to those which the informants had observed during the passage of their own lifetimes. Changes that had reportedly gone on in the culture previously, and for which the information was therefore of a hearsay type, are not included unless specifically so noted. Thus the reported changes primarily occurred during the period ca. 1895–1957. The ethnographic present in this chapter, as elsewhere, is 1956–57.

It should be pointed out that the material that follows often includes consideration of causal factors from the informants' point of view. Such statements of opinion regarding causal relationships between changes are, unless otherwise indicated, those of elderly, knowledgeable informants whom I respected for their intelligence and ability to analyze the events about them. In asking and respecting the opinions of native informants about causality I depart from the position of some anthropologists who have seemed to doubt the ability of non-literate peoples to provide meaningful analysis of causal relationships within their own culture. On the contrary, I have found that the Jívaro are extremely aware of, and alert to, the factors directly influencing their lives; and normally I found their hypotheses superior to those that I proposed and tested in the field. Unlike some other non-literate populations, for example the Conibo Indians of eastern Peru, whom I have also studied, the Jívaro almost never explain any behavior, traditional or otherwise, on the basis of such a statement as "we do it that way because our ancestors

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.